3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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all ate plenty. Both the dancers and the grandfathers, and the latters' helpers, brought food. When the grandfathers brought food each would say to his respective grandson or team of two to four grandsons: "All right, my grandson(s), here is your milk." The grandsons or one of them would then get up, give the exclamation of thanks (according to Coming Daylight), and would kiss the "grandfather" and would "nurse."

In the course of the Crazy Dance, as at most other social and ritual large gatherings, it was customary for relatives of the dancers to give away presents in their honor, not to the dancers themselves, but to third parties.[19]

According to The Boy, a sweat-lodge rite was held in connection with the Crazy Dance, but we obtained no details. Presumably it followed the general pattern of the rite as carried out for the sacred Pipes.

"Talking backward" was characteristic of the dancers' behavior during the day or days immediately following the four day rite, but also, according to our informants, during the four-day rite itself. If the dancer said "Hit me real hard," he would be barely touched; if he said, "Don't hit me hard," he would be hit very hard. "Go away" meant "Come here"; and vice versa. An answer "yes" meant "no." "Raise it up," meant "Lower it down." "All right," a dancer would say "you fellows will not dance"; then he would sing and they would dance.

The sex-test calls for more extensive explanation. It was a major, in a sense the major, feature of the Crazy Dance, the "sacrifice" about which the dance centered. The dancers were in a sense "throwing away," offering as a quasi-sacrifice, their wives or substitute women. In the sacred Pipe rites, the costly offerings were in material things, sacrifices in the strict sense of the term, in the Sacrifice Dance, the main offerings were the physical sufferings of the participants, "sacrifices" in an extended sense of the term; in the Crazy Dance, the "sacrifice" consisted more in the mental suffering of the dancers who submitted their wives or substitute women to a severe sex-test, a test which at best brought acute anxiety and embarrassment to all concerned. From the

[19] For example, see Flannery, 1953, p. 108.

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

and, each time he attempted to get to his knees, one of two women who had already reached the scene would strike him on the buttocks with the flat side of a hatchet, making an insulting remark, and both would laugh. Coming Daylight hesitated at some distance from where the other two were gloating over the fallen enemy. When one of them, Woman Chief by name, saw her she ran to her saying: "Why are you standing so far off?" She grabbed her by the arm and pushed a big club into her hand, saying: "He is still alive—you will do a great thing. *Ahe:ya'!*" Woman Chief forced Coming Daylight to strike him.

While both Woman Chief and Coming Daylight closely approximated the ideal for women as faithful wives and efficient workers who gave generously of their material goods to and on behalf of their relatives, they seemingly differed in temperament. Woman Chief was known as a very brave woman, and Coming Daylight was frank in admitting she would never have dreamed of doing the kinds of things for which Woman Chief was renowned. One of the latter's exploits, for example, was as follows. The Gros Ventres and Crow were allies in an encounter with the Piegan. The battle was in full force, but one Crow had withdrawn and was sitting motionless astride his horse at some distance from the melee. Woman Chief, who in contrast to most women was always well mounted, dashed up to the Crow, grabbed his wand from his hand, and rode pellmell into the thick of the battle, counting coups right and left. So brave was she considered in having really risked her life that she was accorded the distinction, most unusual for a woman, of being led around the camp circle with the victorious warriors. Furthermore, so many people came to sing in front of her lodge that she and her relatives, to show their appreciation of the honor, were forced to give away as much property as though she were a man. Judging on the basis of other biographical material, there can be no doubt that she gloried in her reputation and took every opportunity to enhance it. She was one to whom the more violent aspects of Gros Ventre culture were exceedingly congenial.

If we compare and contrast these two women we can say that insofar as the patterns of Dionysian configuration are the basis of the comparison, their behavior exhibits opposite extremes, the one going beyond the average in the direction of the configuration, the other running counter to and participating less than the average therein. Both might be termed deviant personalities in Honigmann's sense of the term,[2] one overplaying and the other underplaying modal behavior in these selected patterns. Nevertheless, neither seems to have been a misfit insofar as each represents an extreme of socially accepted or sanctioned behavior within those patterns. If, for instance, Coming Daylight had been completely negative, and refused, say, to carry out at least the culturally defined minimum for mourning, had she, in addition to refusing to mutilate herself for the recovery of her ill relatives, neglected as an adult even the safe and less strenuous means to that end, she would have fallen without the pale, so to speak, and have been a misfit. If, at the opposite end of the scale, Woman Chief had gone further in the direction of masculinity, had she actually gone on raiding expeditions and herself stolen horses from the camp of the enemy, had she learned to shoot the bow and arrow or gun, or had she so much as adopted the vocabulary and/or pronunciation proper for males in the Gros Ventres language, she would have been carrying things too far. She, too, would have been dubbed a misfit.

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